

POLICY | INTERNATIONAL



DAVE SANDERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Zohran Mamdani, the Democratic nominee for New York City mayor, center left, speaking to union members during a meeting about child care last month.

Universal Child Care Gets a New Look

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

back their work hours because of caregiving responsibilities cost the city \$23 billion in 2022.

Critics of universal child care typically cite the significant cost to taxpayers of subsidizing not just low-income families but also higher-income families.

“Child care money that is spent at any level of government should really be targeted to those most in need,” said Rachel Greszler, a senior research fellow at the conservative Heritage Foundation.

Mr. Mamdani’s campaign, for instance, estimates that his plan would cost \$6 billion annually. He said money to fund his policies, including his child care program, could be generated by lifting the state’s corporate tax rate, raising the city’s income tax by 2 percentage points on New Yorkers earning more than \$1 million a year and collecting fines the city is owed.

In interviews with economists and child care policy experts, however, many said that zeroing in on the cost to taxpayers of a universal system did not factor in its potential economic effects.

Most arguments in support of universal child care — as opposed to programs with income limits, say — revolve around more readily quantifiable economic impacts, including an increase in the share of mothers with young children in the labor force, a rise in their number of hours worked and greater lifetime earnings. Because families would no longer have to devote large portions of their budgets to child care, proponents say, they would have more disposable income.

Some economists also pointed to possible benefits for companies such as more stable work forces, which could improve productivity and reduce spending on recruiting and training.

“What free child care does is basically take the economic costs to families, and all of the disruptions to the economy overall that come from those costs, out of the equation,” said Kathryn Anne Edwards, a labor economist and policy consultant.

The share of women in their prime working years who are in the labor force was 77.7 percent last month, down slightly from its record peak last August of 78.4 percent. Among women with children under 5, that number was about 68 percent in May. That is down from a record high of 71 percent in September 2023, according to an analysis in July from the Hamilton Project, an economic policy research group at the Brookings Institution. The labor force participation rate for men ages 25 to 54 was 89.8 percent last month.

“You are looking for those pockets of slack — and those pockets of places where those policy interventions would make a big difference,” said Lauren Bauer, the associate director of the Hamilton Project. “This is clearly one of those places.”

In January, the New York City Office of the Comptroller released a report estimating the economic impact of free, universal child care for mothers of young children. The report found that 14,200 mothers in families earning up to 150 percent of the city’s median income would enter the city’s labor force, and would generate earnings of \$670 million a year. The policy, according to the report, would also result in an addition 8.8 million hours worked by the city’s labor force, and would generate earnings of \$670 million a year. The policy, according to the report, would also result in an addition 8.8 million hours worked by the city’s labor force, and would generate earnings of \$670 million a year.

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Economists have pointed to history as evidence that more expansive child care policies could meaningfully change the broader economy. The Lanham Act, a federal infrastructure bill passed in 1940, was used to create a near universal, federally backed child care program during World War II so that mothers with young children could contribute to the war effort.

The Lanham Act made federal funds available to help set up and maintain child care facilities and train and pay teachers. The program was not free but was heavily subsidized and available to families regardless of income.

The Lanham Act “had pretty profound impacts on mothers’ employment both in the short run and in the longer run,” said Chris Herbst, a professor at Arizona State University who studies the economics of child care and early childhood education. “A lot of the mothers who started to work during the war because of this child care program continued to work well after the war ended.”

Mr. Herbst also noted that the children who attended its child care centers were more likely to graduate from high school, more likely to attend and graduate college and had better labor market outcomes and higher career earnings than children who were less exposed to the program.

“When these policies are done right, they have two-generation effects,” he said. “There are positive effects that accrue in the short run to parents through the increase in employment, and also to their kids.”

There is already a large body of evidence that universal preschool programs pay big economic dividends. A working paper published in May that analyzed the effects of universal prekindergarten programs in nine cities and states found that they resulted in a 1.2 percent rise in labor force participation, a 1.5 percent increase in employment and 1.6 percent growth in hours worked. The paper analyzed programs in Georgia, Oklahoma, West Virginia, Florida, Iowa, Wisconsin, Washington, D.C., Vermont and New York City.

Mothers experienced the greatest employment bump, according to the paper. But the benefits also extended to other women, suggesting that universal prekindergarten programs also allowed informal caregivers to seek employment as well.

“Not only is it helping mothers with young kids work more but it might actually have this spillover to neighbors and relatives, and it might help this local economy,” said Jacob Bastian, an assistant professor of economics at Rutgers University and one of the study’s authors.

The child care system in Quebec offers another salient case study. In 1997, the Canadian province introduced universally accessible, highly subsidized child care, extending the coverage to all children up to age 4 by September 2000.

Research published last year found that the Quebec program’s impact — including improving maternal labor force participation rate — was attributable to the increased availability of child care, not just its reduced price.

“The effects are much bigger in places where the supply expanded more,” said Sébastien Montpetit, a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Warwick and one of the study’s authors. “So we care about affordability but availability is at least as important.”

A separate study found that the program bolstered the performance of businesses in terms of sales growth and increased labor productivity. And because child care was not tied to their firms, women were more likely to voluntarily switch employers for more ambitious careers.

Earlier this month, Gov. Mi-

Assessing the economic impact of Mamdani’s proposal.

chelle Lujan Grisham of New Mexico, a Democrat, announced that her state would become the first in the country to offer free universal child care starting Nov. 1. The plan, which is expected to cost about \$600 million in its first full year, builds on a program in the state that offered free child care to families making up to 400 percent of the federal poverty level. Money for the program will come from an early childhood education trust endowed with oil and gas tax revenue, as well as federal funding and other state contribu-

tions.

But whether there is the political will to institute any kind universal child care system across the country is an open question.

There is generally bipartisan support for making some form of child care more affordable, but universal care has been a harder sell for Americans. The cost to taxpayers of a new social service is one impediment. Another is the argument, advanced largely in conservative circles, that children should be at home with their mothers.

Still, the fact that Mr. Mamdani has put universal child care front and center in his campaign has given supporters of these policies a reason for optimism.

Mr. Mamdani’s proposal was “one of the first times in the U.S. that we’ve seen a political figure truly embrace universal child care,” said Elliot Haspel, an early childhood education expert at Capita, a family policy group.

Although he is skeptical that the federal government will enact a universal child care program in the near future, he said, “I think we could start building the momentum now.”

IN THE UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF DELAWARE

In re: Chapter 11
YELLOW CORPORATION, et al., Case No. 23-11069 (CTG)
Debtors. (Jointly Administered)

NOTICE OF HEARING TO CONSIDER CONFIRMATION OF THE FOURTH AMENDED JOINT CHAPTER 11 PLAN AND RELATED VOTING AND OBJECTION DEADLINES

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE that on September 15, 2025, the United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware (“Bankruptcy Court”) entered an Order (Docket No. 7608) (the “Disclosure Statement Order”) (a) authorizing Yellow Corporation and its affiliated debtors and debtors in possession (collectively, the “Debtors”) to solicit votes on the *Fourth Amended Joint Chapter 11 Plan of Yellow Corporation and its Debtor Affiliates* pursuant to Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Code Proposed by the Debtors (“Plan”) and (b) approving the *Fourth Amended Disclosure Statement for the Fourth Amended Joint Chapter 11 Plan of Yellow Corporation and its Debtor Affiliates* (“Disclosure Statement”) as containing “adequate information” pursuant to section 1125 of the Bankruptcy Code. (c) approving the solicitation materials and documents to be included in the solicitation packages (the “Solicitation Packages”); and (d) approving procedures for soliciting, receiving and tabulating votes on the Plan.

PLEASE TAKE FURTHER NOTICE that the hearing at which the Bankruptcy Court will consider Confirmation of the Plan (the “Confirmation Hearing”) will commence on **Monday, September 22, 2025, at 10:00 a.m., prevailing Eastern Time**, before the Honorable Craig T. Goldblatt, in the United States Bankruptcy Court for the District of Delaware, located at 824 North Market St., Third Floor, Wilmington, DE 19801.

PLEASE BE ADVISED: THE CONFIRMATION HEARING MAY BE CONTINUED FROM TIME TO TIME BY THE BANKRUPTCY COURT OR THE PLAN PROPOSERS **WITHOUT FURTHER NOTICE** OTHER THAN BY NOTICE OF ADJOURNMENT BEING ANNOUNCED IN OPEN COURT OR BY A NOTICE OF ADJOURNMENT FILED WITH THE BANKRUPTCY COURT AND SERVED ON ALL PARTIES TO THE CONFIRMATION HEARING.

ANY SUCH NOTICES OF ADJOURNMENT ARE AVAILABLE FREE OF CHARGE ON THE DEBTORS’ CASE WEBSITE AT <https://dm.eqlit.com/PLAN/YELLOWCORPORATION>.

CRITICAL INFORMATION REGARDING VOTING ON THE PLAN

Record Date. The voting date for the Plan is **October 2, 2025**, which is the date for determining which Holders of Claims in Class 5 are entitled to vote on the Plan.

Voting Deadline. The deadline for voting on the Plan is **October 29, 2025, at 4:00 p.m., prevailing Eastern Time** (the “Voting Deadline”). If you received a Solicitation Package, including a Ballot and intend to vote on the Plan you **must:** (a) follow the instructions carefully; (b) complete all of the required information on the Ballot; and (c) execute and return your completed Ballot according to and as set forth in detail in the voting instructions so that it is **actually received** by the Debtors’ claims and noticing agent, Epiq Corporate Restructuring, LLC (the “Claims and Noticing Agent”), on or before the Voting Deadline. **A failure to follow such instructions may disqualify your vote.**

Rule 3018 Motion Deadline. The Bankruptcy Court has approved **Order 1, 2025, at 4:00 p.m., prevailing Eastern Time** as the deadline for Holders seeking to challenge the enforceability of the Plan for purposes of file and serve a motion for an order pursuant to Bankruptcy Rule 3018(a) (“Rule 3018 Motion”) temporarily allowing such Claim in a different manner for purposes of voting to accept or reject the Plan (the “Rule 3018 Motion Deadline”). All Rule 3018 Motions, if any, must (a) be in writing; (b) conform to the Bankruptcy Rules, the Local Rules, and any orders of the Bankruptcy Court; (c) state, with particularity, the legal and factual basis for the Rule 3018 Motion; and (d) be filed with the Bankruptcy Court (contemporaneously with a proof of service) and served upon the notice parties so as to be **actually received** on the Plan Objecting Deadline. (i) **Debtors:** Yellow Corporation, 11500 Outlook Street, Suite 400, Overland Park, Kansas 66211, Attention: Yellow Legal, legal@yellow.com; (ii) **Counsel for the Debtors:** Kirkland & Ellis LLP, 333 West Wolf Point Plaza, Chicago, Illinois 60654, Attention: Patrick J. Nash Jr., P.C., David Seligman, P.C., Patrick Nash@kirkland.com, David.seligman@kirkland.com -and- Kirkland & Ellis LLP, 601 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10022, Attention: Alyson B. Smith, Alyson.smith@kirkland.com; (iii) **Counsel for the Debtors:** Pachulski Stang Ziehl & Jones LLP, 919 North Market Street, 17th Floor, P.O. Box 8705, Wilmington, Delaware 19801, Attention: Laura Davis Jones, Timothy P. Cairns, Peter J. Keane, and Edward Corra, ljones@pszlaw.com, tcairns@pszlaw.com, pkeane@pszlaw.com, ecorra@pszlaw.com; (iv) **Counsel for the Committee:** Alkin Gump Strauss Pomeroy LLP, One Bryant Park, New York, NY 10036, Attention: Philip C. Dublin, Meredith A. Lahai, and Kevin Zucolo, pdublin@kingump.com, mlahai@kingump.com, kzucolo@kingump.com -and- Benesh, Friedlander, Coplan, Aronoff LLP, 1313 North Market Street, Suite 1201, Wilmington, DE 19801, Attention: Jennifer R. Hoover, Kevin M. Capuzzi, and John C. Gentile, jhoover@beneschlaw.com, kcapuzzi@beneschlaw.com, jgentile@beneschlaw.com; and (v) **United States Trustee:** Office of the United States Trustee, 844 King Street, Suite 2002, Wilmington, DE 19801, Attention: Jane M. Leamy, Jane.M.Leamy@usdoj.gov.

Please be advised that Article IX of the Plan contains the following release, excusal, and injunction provisions:

Article IX of the Plan provides for a release by the Debtors (the “Debtors Release”): Notwithstanding anything contained in the Plan or the Confirmation Order to the contrary, pursuant to section 1123(b) of the

Bankruptcy Code, for good and valuable consideration, the adequacy of which is hereby confirmed, upon entry of the Confirmation Order and effective as of the Effective Date, to the fullest extent permitted by applicable law, each Released Party is, and is deemed hereby to be, fully, conclusively, absolutely, unconditionally, irrevocably, and forever released by each and all of the Debtors, the Liquidating Trust, and their Estates, in each case on behalf of themselves and their respective successors, assigns, and representatives, including any Estate representative appointed or selected pursuant to section 1123(b)(3) of the Bankruptcy Code, from any and all Claims, obligations, rights, claims, damages, Causes of Action, remedies, and liabilities, known or unknown, whether known or unknown, including any derivative claims, asserted or assertable on behalf of any of the Debtors, the Liquidating Trust, or the Estates, that any such Entity would have been legally entitled to assert in their own right (whether individually or collectively) on behalf of the Holders of Claims in Class 5, and on behalf of the Liquidating Trust (including the Debtors) and the Liquidating Trust’s capital structure, management, ownership, or operation thereof or otherwise), the subject matter of, or the transactions or events giving rise to, any Claim or Interest that is treated in the Plan, the business or contractual arrangements between any Debtor or the Liquidating Trust and any Released Party, the Debtors’ in-or-out-of-court restructuring efforts, the purchase, sale, or rescission of any security of the Debtors or the Liquidating Trust, intercompany transactions between or among a Debtor, or an affiliate of a Debtor and another Debtor, or the Liquidating Trust, the Chapter 11 Cases, the Canadian Recognition Proceedings, the forum selection, preparation, dissemination, solicitation, negotiation, entry into, or filing of the Disclosure Statement, the Plan, the Plan Supplement, the Third-Party 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